

were quite unknown in Ladāk, hence the Indian word.

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BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men).

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BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechehang) stàr ches, among Ladākis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang, are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a worldly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechehang stàr ches," the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride.

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BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel".

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BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills".

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$\frac{1}{2}$ [i.e. barley beer-- ANALYS I]

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DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

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DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

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When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

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The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

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If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an arbitrator or "GHatpo," who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick," and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHíng chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

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RAVEN--chhoaskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma, 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce"). After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yooksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

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The Crises of Life

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The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one ; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the "wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson.

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen* *k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". ¹

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*.

4. Divorce and marital irregularities

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*ISO-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband - an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she ¹ [See discussion in Category 116, pp. 352-355--An.]

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[768] refuses to live any longer - she will sometimes tie a thread between one of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

[837] Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatibility of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

[595] In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great importance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Moslem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

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797 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

[735] As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing

[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most illegitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
848 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
792 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.
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5. Dissolution of marriage by death

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheritance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does
768 not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistence.

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence.

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession.

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place.

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